

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 NICOSI 01090 01 OF 02 241728Z  
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W  
-----041275 241733Z /43

O 241655Z APR 78  
FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 7673  
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 NICOSIA 1090

EXDIS

HANDLE AS NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PEPR, TU, CY  
SUBJECT: CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS

REF: (A) STATE 103681, (B) USUN 1595

1. SUMMARY: AS SEEN FROM HERE, PRESENT PROPOSALS OF  
TURKISH SIDE ARE NON-STARTER AND HAVE ENCOURAGED GOC  
TO BELIEVE THAT THEY CAN PERSUADE US CONGRESSIONAL  
MAJORITY OF TURKISH INTRANSIGENCE AND THEREBY MAINTAIN  
EMBARGO. GOC AND THIS EMBASSY EXPECTED PROPOSALS TO BE  
MORE FORTHCOMING AT LEAST IN TERRITORIAL AREA. SUGGEST  
WE ENCOURAGE SYG TO FOLLOW HIS PROPOSED COURSE OF ACTION  
REF. (B) WITH EMPHASIS ON IMPROVEMENT OF TURKISH CHPRIOT  
PROPOSALS AND THAT U.S. BE PREPARED TO SUPPORT THIS BY DEMARCHES  
TO GOC AND GOT. END SUMMARY.

2. PROSPECTS FOR RESUMPTION OF INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS  
BASED ON NEW PROPOSALS BY TURKISH SIDE ARE INDEED  
GLOOMY AND THERE IS NO EVIDENCE HERE WHICH WOULD  
CONTRADICT ASSESSMENT CONTAINED REF. (B).

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3. GOC PERCEIVES NEW PROPOSALS AS DIRECTLY SOLELY  
AT LIFTING OF CONGRESSIONAL EMBARGO ON  
ARMS TO TURKEY RATHER THAN GENUINE EFFORT TO SOLVE  
CYPRUS PROBLEM. THEY HAVE CONCLUDED THAT PROPOSALS ARE  
SO RIGID THAT THEY PROVIDE BASIS FOR PERSUADING U.S.  
CONGRESS THAT EMBARGO MUST BE MAINTAINED AND TO THAT

END ARE PROPOSING TO ENGAGE IN A MASSIVE CAMPAIGN (FOR THEM) TO WIN U.S. OPINION. FOR EXAMPLE, A MEMBER OF GOC PUBLIC INFORMATION OFFICE HAS SPENT THE LAST TEN DAYS AT USICA LIBRARY COPYING THE NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF EVERY SENATOR, CONGRESSMAN, NEWSPAPER AND TV STATION IN THE U.S., APPARENTLY WITH THE INTENT OF STARTING A TELEGRAM AND NEWS LETTER CAMPAIGN.

4. SITUATION IS FURTHER COMPLICATED BY FACT THAT NONE OF THE KEY ACTORS AGREE ON WHOM THEY SHOULD BE DEALING WITH. DENKTASH WANTS TO DEAL DIRECTLY WITH KYPRIANOU, WHO WANTS TO DEAL WITH ECEVIT, WHO WANTS TO WORK WITH CARAMANLIS, AND APPARENTLY CARAMANLIS WOULD LIKE TO AVOID DIRECT ENGAGEMENT IN THE CYPRUS PROBLEM ALTHOGETHER. CLEARLY ALL FOUR INDIVIDUALS WILL HAVE TO BE ON BOARD IF WE ARE EVER TO ACHIEVE A REAL SETTLEMENT.

5. I BELIEVE ESSENTIAL ELEMENT TO GET TALKS GOING IS SOME IMPROVEMENT IN TERRITORIAL OFFER BY TURKISH SIDE. I AM TOLD THAT PRESIDENT MAKARIOS ONCE SAID THAT IF THE TURKISH SIDE WOULD OFFER THE RETURN OF VAROSHA IT WOULD NOT GUARANTEE A SETTLEMENT BUT THERE WOULD BE NO SETTLEMENT WITHOUT VAROSHA. I SUSPECT THAT THE TURKISH SIDE DOES NOT WISH TO REVEAL ITS BOTTOM LINE ON VAROSHA SO THEY COULD GIVE IT UP IN THE COURSE OF NEGOTIATIONS BUT AS THINGS STAND THERE WILL BE NO NEGOTIATIONS AT ALL UNLESS  
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THERE IS SOME FURTHER MOVEMENT.

6. I AM SOMEWHAT CONCERNED THAT OUR NEXT MOVE MAY BE TAKEN WITH UNDUE HASTE. WE HAVE BEEN WORKING HERE IN AN EFFORT TO PERSUADE GOC THAT IT IS NOT IN THEIR BEST INTEREST FOR THE PRESENT SITUATION TO CONTINUE AND I BELIEVE WE HAVE HAD SOME EFFECT. I DON'T THINK IT WOULD HURT FOR THE SYG TO DELAY SOMEWHAT IN ANNOUNCING HIS CONCLUSIONS BASED ON THE NEW PROPOSALS.

7. I, OF COURSE, REALIZE THE BUILT IN TIME FACTOR POSED BY CONGRESSIONAL CONSIDERATION OF THE EMBARGO. BOTH SIDES UNFORTUNATELY ARE NOW LOOKING MORE AT THE U.S. CONGRESS THAN THEY ARE AT ONE ANOTHER AND BOTH THINK THAT THEY CAN TASTE VICTORY. TO THE EXTENT THAT ONE, OR HOPEFULLY BOTH, CAN BECOME LESS CONFIDENT IN THE ACTIONS OF THE CONGRESS THEY MAY BE MORE WILLING TO TAKE CONCILIATORY STEPS. I PRESUME IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE FOR AMBASSADOR SPIERS TO MAKE THIS POINT TO ECEVIT IN ENLISTING HIS SUPPORT TO GET THE EMBARGO LIFTED.

8. PRIMIN ECEVIT'S PROBLEM MAY WELL BE INTRANSIGENCE OF DENKTASH WHO IS UNDOUBTEDLY INSISTING ON GIVING AN ABSOLUTE MINIMUM BECAUSE HE REALLY WANTS TO RETAIN WHAT HE HAS AND GAIN INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION FOR A SEPARATE TURKISH STATE ON THE ISLAND.

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W  
-----041380 241756Z /43

O 241655Z APR 78  
FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 7674  
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 NICOSIA 1090

EXDIS

HANDLE AS NODIS

9. BEST HOPE, I BELIEVE, FOR MOVING GOC TO TALKS IS TO OBTAIN SUFFICIENTLY FORTHCOMING TERRITORIAL OFFER FROM TURKISH SIDE SO AS TO CREATE PRESSURE AGAINST GOC ON PART OF REFUGEES ANXIOUS TO RETURN TO THEIR HOMES. WE SEE VAROSHA AS BEING ESSENTIAL AND IF THAT COULD BE COUPLED WITH MORE "GIVE" IN THE MORPHOU AREA, THEN I AM CONVINCED GOC WOULD BE PREPARED TO TALK SERIOUSLY.

10. I BELIEVE WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE WALDHEIM TO FOLLOW HIS PLAN TO LET CYPRUS POT SIMMER FOR A FEW DAYS AND THEN HAVE NEW SRSG GALINDO POHL TRY TO GET BOTH SIDES TO IMPROVE THEIR POSITIONS OR AT LEAST MAKE COMMITMENTS TO FLEXIBILITY. IF THE WALDEHIM APPROACH FALTERS, U.S. MIGHT USEFULLY MAKE TOUGH DEMARCHES POSSIBLY WITH SUPPORT OF EC NINE, TO GOC AND GOT TO POINT OUT CONSEQUENCES OF CONTINUED STALEMATE. TO GOC WE COULD SAY THAT WHILE WE STILL SHARE THE OBJECTIVE OF A JUST SOLUTION, OUR GROWING DIFFERENCES ON TACTICS RUN A RISK OF SERIOUS DAMAGE TO U.S.-GOC RELATIONS AND U.S. ABILITY TO CONTINUE TO HELP IN CYPRUS PROBLEM. TO TURKS WE COULD POINT OUT THAT WHILE ADMINISTRATION IS WORKING IN GOOD

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FAITH TO GET EMBARGO LIFTED AND DOES NOT LINK THIS IN  
ANY WAY WITH CYPRUS, IMPROVEMENT IN U.S.-TURKISH  
RELATIONS WILL BE THREATENED IF TURKISH SIDE IS UNABLE  
TO IMPROVE ON CYPRUS PROPOSALS AT LEAST ON TERRITORY.

11. PRESIDENT KYPRIANOU HAS JUST ASKED TO SEE ME AT  
10 A.M. APRIL 25. WOULD WELCOME ANY DEPARTMENT VIEWS  
BEFOREHAND.  
STONE

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## Message Attributes

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**Capture Date:** 01 jan 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
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**Copy:** SINGLE  
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**Decaption Date:** 01 jan 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
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**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014